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FROM: NEW YORK

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1865, NOVEMBER 19, 8 PM

DEPARTMENT PASS WHITE HOUSE

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CUBA

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WE HAVE CONSIDERED CAREFULLY SECTION OF DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT FORWARDED TO STEVENSON BY JOHNSON ON NOVEMBER 17. OUR MAIN CONCERN IS THAT PRES NOT FREEZE US POSITION AT THIS PARTICULAR STAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS BY PUBLICLY STATING OUR PRESENT FIRM NEGOTIATING POSITION. THIS CONCERN RELATES TO LAST PARA OF DRAFT SENT TO US. AS INDICATED IN OUR PREVIOUS TEL WE FEEL THAT TOLERABLE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT FULL UN INSPECTION AND VERIFICATION WHICH MAY BE IMPOSSIBLE. IF PRES MAKES FIRM STATEMENT TOMORROW NIGHT THAT WE WILL NOT GIVE ASSURANCES REGARDING INVASION UNLESS WE HAVE UN INSPECTION, OUR FLEXIBILITY WILL BE HAMPERED AND IT MAY BE MORE DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE COUNTRY LATER THAT INSPECTION IS NOT ONLY SATISFACTORY WAY OF SOLVING PROBLEM.

WE PROPOSE, THEREFORE, SUGGESTED CHANGES IN PROPOSED STATEMENT AS INDICATED BELOW, FIRST ON ASSUMPTION THAT USSR HAS AGREED TO REMOVAL OF IL-28S AND SECOND ON ASSUMPTION THAT IT HAS NOT.

I. ON ASSUMPTION USSR HAS AGREED TO REMOVAL OF IL-28 BOMBERS:

1. DELETE LAST PARAGRAPH OF DRAFT STATEMENT AND SUBSTITUTE SOMETHING ALONG THESE LINES: "I HAVE ALSO INSTRUCTED GOVERNOR STEVENSON AND MR. MCCLOY TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH MR. KUZNETSOV ON THE REMAINING ASPECTS OF THE UNDERTAKINGS BETWEEN CHAIRMAN KHRUSHCHEV AND MYSELF".

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2. ON FIRST PAGE, NUMBERED PARA 1, WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT PHRASE "WEAPONS SYSTEMS CAPABLE OF OFFENSIVE USE" BE USED. THIS IS PHRASE USED IN PRES LETTER OF OCTOBER 27 ALSO THE WORD "UNDERTAKING" IS ONE USED IN CORRESPONDENCE, RATHER THAN "UNDERSTANDING".

II. IF THE USSR HAS NOT AGREED TO TAKE THE IL-28S OUT: DELETE PARAS STARTING "CHAIRMAN KHRUSHCHEV" TO THE END AND SUBSTITUTE FOLLOWING:

"WE HAVE ALSO INSISTED ON REMOVAL OF SOVIET IL-28 BOMBERS. THEIR REMOVAL WAS CLEARLY CONTEMPLATED BY MY EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE WITH CHAIRMAN KHRUSHCHEV AND IN GOVERNOR STEVENSON'S PRESENTATION IN UNITED NATIONS. WHILE PROTESTING THAT THESE AIRCRAFT SHOULD NOT BE CLASSIFIED AS OFFENSIVE WEAPONS, SOVIET UNION HAS STATED THAT IT IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER THEIR WITHDRAWAL, BUT NOT UNTIL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON REMAINING QUESTIONS. BECAUSE OF IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO PROMPT REMOVAL THESE BOMBERS WE HAVE OFFERED END THE QUARANTINE WHEN SOVIET UNION AGREES TO REMOVE BOMBERS WITHIN FIXED PERIOD OF TIME AND I AM EAGERLY AWAITING SOVIET RESPONSE.

FINAL VERIFICATION OF COMPLETED TRANSACTION BY UNITED NATIONS IN CUBA HAS NOT BEEN ARRANGED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT. AGAIN, WHILE SOVIET UNION HAS GIVEN ASSURANCES THAT OFFENSIVE WEAPONS WILL NOT AGAIN BE INTRODUCED INTO CUBA, NO SUITABLE CONTINUING SAFEGUARDS HAVE YET BEEN ARRANGED.

I HAVE INSTRUCTED GOVERNOR STEVENSON AND MR. MCCLOY TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH VIEW TO BRINGING THIS MATTER TO AN EARLY AND SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION. NOT UNTIL THEN CAN WE GIVE ASSURANCES AGAINST INVASION OF CUBA WHICH WERE ALSO INCLUDED IN ORIGINAL UNDERSTANDING. WHILE WE HAVE NO DESIRE OR INTEREST TAKE MILITARY ACTION AGAINST CUBA AS LONG AS THERE IS NO THREAT TO SECURITY OF THIS HEMISPHERE, UNITED STATES WILL USE WHATEVER MEANS IT HAS CONFIRM COMPLIANCE UNTIL SUITABLE SAFEGUARDS FOR FUTURE CAN BE WORKED OUT.

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III. IF ANY REFERENCE IS MADE TO PROPOSALS OF SECRETARY GENERAL WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN MADE PUBLIC, WE WOULD WISH CLEAR WITH HIM IN ADVANCE.

STEVENSON

TRT/18

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